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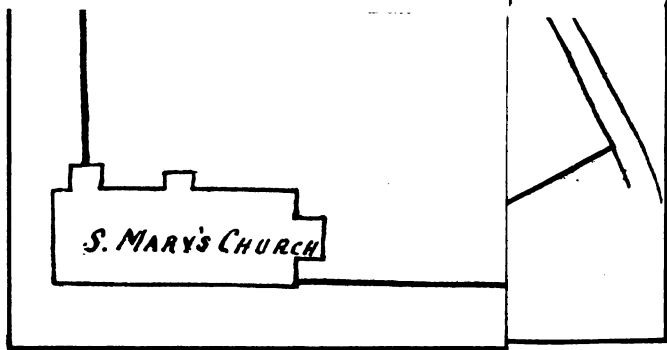
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## EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.


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1. Ancient Church of St. Mary.
2. The old Church of St. Edmund, afterwards the Lady Chapel.
3. Chapel of St. Dionysius or St. Denis.
4. Chapel of St. Stephen. ?
5. Chapel of St. Andrew 1120—48.
6. Chapel of St. Margaret 1120—48.
7. Chapel of the Charnel 1301.
8. Chapel of St. John ad Montem. ?
9. Chapel of St. Stephen and St. Edmund, *capella prioris in cimiterio* 1257—79.
10. South gate of Cemetery.
11. Great gate of Cemetery and bell tower of St. James' Church.
12. Gate leading to great court of Monastery.
13. The Mint.
15. Cellarer's stores, servants' dormitory over.
16. Kitchen. ?
17. ?
18. Refectory.
19. Great Cloister.
20. The Chapter House.
21. Monks' parlour, dormitory over.
22. Abbot's palace and offices.
23. do. do.
24. do. do.
25. do. do.
26. do. do.
27. Range of offices, stables etc.
28. Infirmary with Bradfield Hall adjoining.
29. Hospices of Prior and Sacrist.
30. Hexagonal turret.
31. The North gate of Monastery, Abbot's private gate.
32. The Bridge and East gate of Town.



## PREFACE.

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HE following paper was first read on the occasion of a visit of the members of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society to Bury St. Edmund's on July 21st, 1885. It was again read at the request of the Rev. Canon Harrison before a meeting of his parishioners and friends upon St. James' Day. On both occasions the meetings were held within the ruined transept of the Abbey Church under the shadow of the north eastern pier of the central tower.

The Architectural History of the Abbey has been ably illustrated by Mr. Gordon Hills in two articles which appeared in the twenty-first volume of the British Archaeological Association. The writer of the following paper has made free use of these articles, and he fully acknowledges the debt.

The paper is now printed, and is to be sold for the benefit of the Institute, which named after Abbot Anselm has been lately established in the parish of St. James.

But again a debt must be acknowledged. This paper would not have appeared in its present form but for the suggestion of Mr. Algernon B. Bevan who kindly undertook to print it at his private press, for which the writer tenders him his best thanks.



# ST. EDMUND'S BURY,

## THE ABBEY CHURCH.

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ACCORDING to Bede, the province of East Anglia first received the faith of Christ when Eorpwald, the son of Redwald the Bretwalda, was King of East Anglia. Eorpwald was led to embrace the faith through Edwin King of Northumbria who had been baptised by Paulinus in the year 627. Not long after his conversion Eorpwald was slain by a pagan and the East Anglian crown came into possession of Sigebert, his half brother, "a most christian and learned man," who had lived in France during his brother's life.

Sigebert, recalled to reign over East Anglia, brought with him Felix, a Burgundian priest, with whom he had lived on terms of great intimacy. By the help of Felix, who became the first East Anglian Bishop, and had his seat at Dunwich the King set up schools in imitation of the institutions he had seen in France, built churches and persuaded his subjects to embrace the Christian faith.



Sigebert did not long rule over East Anglia, but "being so great a lover of the heavenly kingdom," he about the year 633 resigned the crown to his cousin Ecgric, and retired to a monastery which he is said to have built at this place then called Bedericsworth or Betricheswerde and later Beodrici Villa.

No account of Sigebert's monastery has come down to us, but that in some sort it continued to exist, is clear from the statement that the relics of King Edmund were removed hither "as to a place of note" from the small wooden chapel at Hoxne in which the King's body had been laid after the murder. Here was constructed for the uncorrupted body a large church of planked wood, and here it remained until the year 1010 when through fear of the Danes it was removed to London, where a church in Lombard Street dedicated to his honour still exists.

In Asser's life of Alfred, it is recorded that "In the year of Our Lord's incarnation 855, Edmund the most glorious King of the East Angles began to reign in the fourteenth year of his age."

The Anglo Saxon Chronicle under the year 870 states that the Danes took up their winter quarters at Thetford; and that "in the same winter King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes got the victory."

Edmund fled to Hoxne where he fell into the hands of the victors, who offered him his life on condition of renouncing the Christian faith. Refusing to do this, the King was bound to a tree "beaten with clubs and shot at with arrows." Tradition long pointed out "St. Edmund's Oak" in

Hoxne wood as the site of the King's Martyrdom, and when this ancient oak fell down in 1848, an iron arrow head was found imbedded in the trunk, which is believed to be one of those discharged against the royal Martyr.\*

After the departure of the Danes, the mangled body of the King was found, but not until after forty days' search was the head discovered guarded by a wolf and uninjured. The legend states that the head being placed on the trunk it instantly united with it, so that nothing was visible but a thin line "like a purple thread."

Upon the translation of the relic from Hoxne to Bedericsworth the town changed its name. Henceforth it was known as ST. EDMUND'S BURY and various privileges and possessions were granted to it especially by King Edmund in 940, and King Edwy in 956.

In the year 1013, Sweyn, the King of Denmark, landed at Sandwich and overran East Anglia, plundering the property of the inhabitants and carrying it off in his fleet. And thus it happened according to the Chronicle,† "that while devastating the possessions of Saint Edmund, King and Martyr, the King appeared to him in a vision and gently addressed him on the misery of his people; and that on Sweyn's replying insolently, he struck him on the head, and that in consequence of the blow he died

\* This relic was exhibited at the meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute at Bury St. Edmund's in 1869, through the courtesy of Sir Edward Kerrison, Bart.

† William of Malmesbury.

as has been said, immediately afterwards." Whatever credit we may give to the legend, certain it is that Sweyn died at Candlemas 1014 soon after this raid upon St. Edmund.

Canute succeeded his father Sweyn and after numerous contests, made himself master of the kingdom by defeating Edmund surnamed Ironside at the battle of Assandune, "when the glories of the Angles fell and the whole flower of the country withered."

As soon as Canute found himself established on the throne, he set himself to repair the monasteries which had been nearly destroyed by his father, and had suffered so much from his own wars. "He built churches at all places where he had fought, and more particularly at Assandune. Over the body of the most holy Edmund whom the Danes of former times had killed, he built a church of princely magnificence, appointed to it an Abbot and Monks and conferred upon it many large estates."\*

Among those Churches and Monasteries which Canute refounded, was that of Hulm in Norfolk which he dedicated to St. Benedict. The date of this refounding of Hulm is not exactly ascertained, but it must have been previous to the year 1020, for in that year Canute ejecting the secular clergy from Bury replaced them by twelve monks of the order of St. Benedict, whom he transferred from the monastery at Hulm. At their head he placed Uvius "vir prudens et honestus," first as Prior then as Abbot. The King not only transferred the half of the monks from Hulm to Bury, but he also transferred the half of the books and vestments, of the vessels and orna-

\* William of Malmesbury.

ments; one half of all the goods he reserved for Hulm, the other half he sent to Bury.

Up to this time the body of the Martyred King had been in *monasterio Sanctæ Mariæ ligneo*, in the timber built church of St. Mary, under the charge of a body of secular clergy. But under the care of the monks the fame of the Martyr grew with rapid strides, for before the end of the century when Domesday Book\* was compiled, the lands Sancti Edmundi were found in Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire and Essex; while in Norfolk the Monastery held no less than fifty-eight manors and in Suffolk one hundred and fifty-eight. To this must be added the manor of Mildenhall, and the jurisdiction and the royalties of the eight hundreds and a half which constituted the liberty of St. Edmund, granted to the monastery by Edward the Confessor.

As soon as the monks were established at Bury, Ælfwin the Bishop of the diocese, by whose advice Canute had been guided, commenced to build a new church which should take the place of the timber built church of Sigebert. Nothing is known of the details of this church, but it was soon held to be too mean for the honour of the relics it contained.

Uvius the first Abbot died in 1045, Leofstan the second Abbot died in 1065, and he was succeeded by Baldwin, with whom the Architectural history of the Abbey Church commences.

Baldwin was one of those men who make their mark in the world. He had been a Monk of St. Denis at Paris and Prior of Deerhurst in Glou-

\* Appendix, Note I.

cestershire, a cell of St. Denis. He had travelled much, had been ordained priest at Rome by the Pope himself, and was in great favour with both Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror. Lydgate describes him as "gretly expert in crafft of medycyn, full provydent off counsayl and right ways, sad of his port, fructuous off doctryne."

At this time Herfast, Bishop of Thetford, cast longing eyes upon Bury. Having removed his see from Elmham to Thetford, he declared his intention of finally establishing it at Bury. Naturally the Abbot resented this claim of the Bishop to dispose of the Abbey as he thought fit, and under the advice of William I., Baldwin appealed to the Pope. It was about the time that the Pope, Alexander II. had granted to the Abbey of Cluny exemption from episcopal jurisdiction; he was therefore quite ready to support the Abbot in his contest with the Bishop, and not only granted the Monastery a similar exemption, but gave to the Abbey a porphyry altar consecrated by himself and dedicated to the honour of St. Mary and St. Edmund, with the privilege that so long as it remained at Bury mass was not to cease except on the Pope's express interdict. These privileges were afterwards confirmed and extended by Popes Gregory, Eugenius, Urban, Calixtus and Alexander II.

Upon the Altar was inscribed these verses—\*

Altaris mensam cum reliquiis bene comptam  
Dat, Sacrat hanc nobis Baldwino Pater orbis,  
Pontificum Sydus, Alexanderque secundus.

To Abbot Baldwin belongs the credit of having

\* Battely, p. 48.

designed the original plan of the great church amid the ruins of which we are now assembled. Succeeding Abbots modified Baldwin's plan as I hope to explain; but Abbot Baldwin's design was in the main adhered to, resulting in the building of a Norman Abbey Church almost unrivalled in its proportions and magnificence.

According to one of the monastic registers, Baldwin commenced his work by levelling the "old wooden church." But doubt has been thrown upon the correctness of this statement as the Church of Ailwin was not of wood, and Herman the Archdeacon, a contemporary of Baldwin's, states that Ailwin's Church remained to his day. It is evident that it could not have been pulled down until such time as Baldwin's new Church was sufficiently advanced to receive the venerated relics of St. Edmund.

The ceremony of translating the body of the Martyr from the old to the new Church in 1095, is related in detail by Herman, who describes the procession as leaving by the *south* door, from which we learn that the old Church of Ailwin stood on the north side of Baldwin's. Herman adds that the new Church was built because Ailwin's Church was too simple to satisfy the taste of the times.

Edward the Confessor is recorded to have rebuilt the Abbey Church of Westminster after the type of architecture which he had learnt to love in the land of his exile, but Baldwin was the first, so far as I know, to raise a stately church after the new manner of the Romanesque or Norman style which now took root in England, and gave birth to such noble concep-

tions as Ely, Peterborough, Winchester, Norwich and St. Albans.\*

Baldwin commenced his work by bringing a supply of stone from the Northamptonshire quarries at Barnack. These quarries belonged to the Abbey of Peterborough. But Baldwin appears to have been doubtful of the goodwill of the Peterborough Monks, therefore he obtained a precept from the King, William I., commanding the Abbot of Peterborough to supply him with such materials as he required for his new church.

This stone was conveyed by water to the neighbourhood of Bury and used for the ashlar with which the building was faced. But in the 17th century the Church was used as a quarry, and the whole of this stone has been carried away leaving nothing but the rubble core which it would not pay to remove. This rubble was of remarkable strength, said to be owing to the lime being used as soon as it was burnt.

Thus it is that the only parts of the building left *perfect*, are parts of the bases of the north east pier of the central tower and of the choir pier next to it of Norman work, and two arches of early English work near the west end of the north wall of the nave.

\* Dates of some of the earliest Norman Churches—

- 1070—95. Bury St. Edmund's. Abbot Baldwin.
- 1073—80. Canterbury crypt and part of choir. Archbishop Lanfranc.
- 1080. Rochester crypt and north transept. Gundulph.
- 1077—93. St. Albans. Abbot Paul.
- 1079—93. Winchester. Bishop Wakelin.
- 1083—1106. Ely nave and transept. Abbot Symeon.
- 1096—1119. Norwich. Herbert Losinga.

Here, in passing, I may draw attention to a wall of the 15th century which may be seen in the garden behind the will-office. It has impressed upon it the form of a Norman arch and mouldings, from which we may gather that the Church was completed through almost the whole of its length during the Norman period.

Of the west end the core of the wall remains. Three arches similar to those at Peterborough or Lincoln formed a front to the nave. Each aisle of the nave was flanked by a chapel, thus forming an extension of the west front. At Lincoln the west end has a pair of chapels in a similar position; but at Bury these chapels were outflanked by two octagon towers, giving to the west end of the church a vastness with which no other church in England could compete.

Of the nave nothing remains but the foundations of three pillars of the north arcade. Three lofty fragments shew where the central tower stood, and eastward are the remains of the two western piers of the choir.

The other remains are those of the north and south transepts, while at the east end the apsidal form of the presbytery with its three apsidal chapels may yet be made out.

The Church of St. Edmund as a building of the Norman era was unsurpassed in size; indeed few churches of later date rivalled its great area. It measured from east to west 472 feet.\* Byland, the

\* The type of a great Norman church is, as in every other style, cruciform. The nave is often of great length as at Ely, Norwich and St. Albans. The transepts are shorter than at a



largest of Yorkshire abbeys, measured 333 feet ; Fountains, with its magnificent eastern extension, 359 feet, and Durham Cathedral, with a similar extension, 414 feet. Winchester, Canterbury, Salisbury and Westminster, owing to subordinate chapels of later date, are of greater length ; so that the only churches which, without later chapels can compare with St. Edmund's, are York and Lincoln, each 498 feet, Ely 517 feet, Peterborough 480 feet and St. Albans 550 feet.

Baldwin became Abbot in the year 1065, and in the year 1095 the presbytery of the new church was ready for the reception of the Martyr's relics. The Sacrists, Thurston and Tolin, had charge of the works. The building included the crypt which extended under the presbytery as far as the two piers, the remains of which (one shewing its base of Barnack stone) we may still see. At this point the width of the presbytery was 38 feet 9 inches and it is evident that Baldwin intended the presbytery to end here. Thus these two piers were to have been the two eastern piers of the central tower.

The ceremony of translating the sacred body of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, was conducted by Wakelyn Bishop of Winchester and Randolph the King's chaplain. One object of the ceremony was to certify that the body of the Saint was still incorrupt. The choir, though comparatively small, stands boldly out at a distinct part of the church. It is usually apsidal and often without a surrounding aisle. A tower rises at the intersection which is almost always short and massive, sometimes no higher than the ridge of the roof. The west front is usually flanked by two lighter towers terminating the aisles. The shape of the towers is invariably square. *Freeman.*

rupt, a fact which many of the scoffing courtiers of William Rufus were pleased to doubt.

Abbot Baldwin died in 1097 at the age of 80 and was buried in the choir.\* After his death the building appears to have stood still until the year 1107 when Abbot Robert second of that name, also a monk of St. Denis, recommenced the work. At this time Godfrey was sacrist, a man described as "great in body but greater in mind."

The plan of the building was now enlarged, for instead of raising the central tower upon the piers which Baldwin had prepared, Robert and Godfrey added another bay to the presbytery, and this bay was made to widen out so as to increase the width of the presbytery at this point by one foot ten inches. At this time the central tower with its four great piers, the remains of which still exist, must have been completed so as to receive a great bell which had been prepared for it.

The south transept must also have been commenced at this time, for Godfrey the sacrist in order to extend the right arm of the monastery pulled down the old parish church of St. Mary, *Parochiana ecclesia villæ antiqua et lapidea in memoriâ B. Mariæ constructa*, which was built of stone, and rebuilt it in the south west angle of the cemetery on the spot where the present church of St. Mary now stands.

Abbot Baldwin's design seems to have contemplated the preservation of the older churches. But

\* Obiit Baldwinus eximie vir religionis in bonâ senectute ætatis ut putabatur plusquam octoginta annorum. In medio choro principalis ecclesiæ sepultus requiescit.

Godfrey the sacrist "great of body and great of mind" decided otherwise.\*

In the year 1120 Anselm succeeded to the Abbacy ruling over the Monastery, with the exception of a short period during which he was Bishop designate of London, for twenty-seven years.

Anselm was by birth an Italian; but being nephew of Archbishop Anselm he as a young monk came to reside in England. On the death of the Archbishop he returned to Italy where he was made Abbot of the Monastery of St. Saba on the Aventine. Anselm returned to England on the invitation of King Henry I. who wished to appoint him to the first vacant bishopric; meanwhile he took up his residence among the monks of St. Edmund, and eventually rose to be their Abbot.

Abbot Anselm had under him as sacrists and architects of the monastery, Randulphus and Harvæus, described as "*virī totius prudentiæ.*"

Great progress was now made with the Abbey Church, and in order to allow the nave to be built upon an extended scale, the basilica of St. Dionysius built by Abbot Baldwin, was pulled down. Thus, within eighty years the plan designed by Baldwin was so enlarged as to require the removal of the two parochial churches of St. Mary and St. Dionysius, the latter being the first parochial church of the parish of St. James.

It is difficult to realize the extent of work upon which the Abbot and his Sacrists were now engaged. The nave of the Abbey Church with its great west end was still in hand, making indeed great progress,

\* Appendix, Note II.

for we read that it was now closed with double doors carved by Master Hugo. Then the Church of St. James was being rebuilt, with its noble bell tower the great gate of the cemetery which happily is yet preserved to us. Besides these works the new Church of St. Mary was still incomplete and unconsecrated, and the enclosure wall of the Abbey, much of which still remains, was being built by the sacrist Harvey.

At this time numerous chapels were consecrated. The Porticus or apsidal chapel of St. Faith, the altars of St. Martin and St. Saba, the chapels of St. Andrew in the cemetery of the monks, and the chapel of St. Margaret rebuilt by Anselm near the south gate of the greater cemetery. These with the parish church of St. Mary were consecrated by John, Bishop of Rochester, at the request of Anselm.

The chapel of St. Andrew the Apostle, Abbot Anselm and Harvey the sacrist built and decorated in place of a little stone-built chapel which was near by the lodgings of the sacrist. Here dirges were to be daily sung in memory of those buried in the cemetery.

On the vigil of St. Edmund the altar of St. Cross, *retro choro*, was dedicated by the papal legate, and the chapel or porticus of St. Denis, of which some remains still exist, built in lieu of the "basilica" which had been removed, was dedicated by Richard, Bishop of Avranches.

The chapel of St. Saba built by Anselm in remembrance of his connection with Rome is described as being "at the feet of St. Edmund." This seems to indicate that it was one of the small apsesidal chapels at the east end of the church, the other two

chapels being dedicated to the Virgin and St. Cross. Probably the chapel of St. Saba was on the north, that of St. Cross on the south, the chapel of the B. Virgin being in the centre.

Abbot Ordning, whom Jocelyn de Brakelond describes as an illiterate man but nevertheless a good abbot, succeeded Anselm. More chapels were consecrated, probably in the crypts, and then in the year 1156-7 he was succeeded by Abbot Hugh who held the government of the abbey until 1180.

Jocelyn de Brakelond, a monk and chronicler of the abbey, has left us a sketch of Abbot Hugh in his old age. "A pious and kind man was he, a good and religious monk, yet not wise and heedful in worldly affairs. One that did right in his own eyes not that which ought to have been done. In his days the forests were destroyed, the manor houses threatened to fall, the only resource and relief of the Abbot was to take up money at interest so that he might thereby in some measure keep up the dignity of his house."

Abbot Hugh in his younger and more active days was very jealous of any action which might trench upon the privileges of his order, or lower the dignity of his house.

An amusing story is told of what occurred at the council of Tours, when Hugh conceived that a slight was about to be put upon himself and his abbey. He learnt that the Cardinal the president of the council, had assigned a higher seat or the first seat to the Abbot of St. Albans. This was a proceeding which "afflicted the Abbot with great grief." Therefore during the night preceeding the day of the

council, he with his attendants drove away the servant of the Abbot of St. Albans and "without moving he kept watch the whole night." Then the Abbot knowing the soft side of the papal heart, paid into the Roman treasury sixty marks of silver, by virtue of which he no doubt succeeded in retaining the coveted seat.

Abbot Hugh died an old man in the autumn of the year 1180, apparently uncared for and untended. Jocelyn tells us that ere he was dead everything was snatched away by his servants; the very quilts and coverlets were torn off his bed and replaced by old and tattered ones instead. "There was not an article worth a single penny that could be distributed among the poor for the good of his soul."

After the death of Abbot Hugh there was a vacancy of more than two years, during which time the prior was head of the abbey, whose aim according to Monk Jocelyn appears to have been "the keeping all persons and all things in quietness, by winking at some acts of our officials especially those of the sacrist William, who on his part gave and spent as he chose kind man! bestowing indiscriminately, blinding the eyes of all with gifts."

At this time Sampson the sub-sacrist being master over the workmen, did his best that no breach, chink, crack or flaw should be left unrepaired. "In those days the choir was built under Sampson's directions, he ordering the designs of the paintings and composing elegiac verses. He also made a great draught of stone and sand for the building of the great tower of the church." The work on the choir probably refers to the stall and tabernacle work.

But the expenditure upon these works raised the suspicions of the monks who accused Sampson of pilfering the offerings of the shrine; whereupon Sampson and Waring the keeper of the shrine, made a certain hollow trunk with a hole in it and fastened with an iron lock, and this they set up near the door of the choir to receive the contributions for the building of the Abbey.

During the interregnum which followed the death of Abbot Hugh the talk and prayers of the monks dwelt upon the election of the new abbot. "We besought God and the Holy Martyr St. Edmund that he would vouchsafe to us a meet shepherd, singing the seven penitential psalms prostrate in the choir. But there were some among us to whom had it been made to appear who should have been the future abbot would not have prayed so devoutly." The merits and demerits of each supposed candidate were freely discussed. "That brother is a good monk, conversant with the rule and discipline of the church." Another says "It had been better for the frogs to have chosen a log for a king, than a serpent who venomously hissed and devoured his subjects." Then comes an answer "How can an unlearned man deliver a sermon in chapter. Forbid that a dumb statue should be set up in the church of St. Edmund."

By and bye the gossipings take a personal turn "That brother is a good clerk." "From good clerks, O Lord, deliver us. That thou wouldest be pleased to preserve us from the barators\* of Norfolk." Then spoke a certain one of his fellows "That man is wiser

\* Baratour, the word implies one of a contentious disposition. *Prompt. Parv.*

than all of us put together ; a man of lofty counsel ; such a prelate would beseem our church." "Very true," is the reply "although that man is wise, devout in psalmody, strict in cloister, yet it is mere outward show." Thus the amiable talk went on. The elders disparaging the novices because they were young, the novices sneering at the priors because they were old. These discussions took place chiefly at blood letting time when the monks were gathered together in the hall adjoining the infirmary. Then it was that Jocelyn saw Sampson as he sat apart quietly chuckling, taking note of the words of each, and after the lapse of twenty years calling to mind some of these aforesaid opinions.

At length the time came for appointing the new abbot. The prior accompanied by twelve monks repaired to the king at Waltham, and Jocelyn gives a graphic account of all that took place both before they left the monastery, and when in the presence of the king. Unfortunately the narrative of this curious proceeding is too long to be given here, but its result viz., the appointment of the sub-sacrist Sampson, appears to have been unexpected not to say undesired by many members of the fraternity.

Sampson was not unacceptable to the general body of the monks ; on the other hand the officers of the convent foresaw that the new abbot would not overlook their irregularities, but rather require a strict account of their duties. "'Tis well," many said "because it is well." "Not so," others said "because we are deceived."

All however prepared to receive their new lord with honour. It was arranged that he should make his



entry into the convent upon Palm Sunday, and on the preceding night he slept at Kentford. On the great day as he approached the town, a procession met him and accompanied him up to the gate of the cemetery,\* with ringing of bells inside the choir and without.

Here the abbot dismounted from his horse, and putting off his shoes was conducted to the high altar by the prior and the sacrist, the monks singing "Benedictus Dominus." Then a prayer was said by the prior over the prostrate abbot, an offering was made, and after kissing the shrine he was led to the throne in the choir, and then the "Te Deum Laudamus" was sung. The ceremony was brought to a conclusion by the abbot being kissed by the prior and all the bretheren.

From the choir the abbot proceeded to the chapter house followed by the whole convent. Here Sampson addressed the monks, thanking them for choosing him to be their lord and shepherd, and beseeching them to pray for him. The clerks and knights he requested to assist him with their advice, which in the person of the sheriff they promised to do. After this the charters of the king concerning the gift of the abbey were read, and the abbot concluded with a prayer that God might provide him with divine grace.

But the proceedings of the day were not yet ended. The festival was wound up by an entertainment at the palace "of more than a thousand dinner guests with great rejoicing."

The features and general bearing of the new abbot is thus sketched by Jocelyn— "He was of middle stature, nearly bald, face neither round nor long, a prominent nose, thick lips, clear and piercing eyes,

\* The Norman Tower.

ears of the nicest sense of hearing, always temperate and active, who on hearing of the loss of Jerusalem began to use a horsehair shirt and to abstain from flesh meats. He was an eloquent man both in Latin and French, and was wont to preach in English as well as in the dialect of Norfolk, of which county he was a native."

Sampson was consecrated by the Bishop of Winchester on the 28th February, 1182, and he ruled the abbey until 1211, a period of nearly thirty years.

Hugo now became sacrist and under his direction the church was completed. The masonry of the tower at the chapel of St. Faith was finished, and another tower at the chapel of St. Catherine was proceeded with; perhaps by this tower was meant one of the octagons. Hugo also erected a great cross in the choir with the images of St. John and St. Mary; also the abbot's seat and throne which was painted by Master Symond.

From Jocelyn's chronicle we gather that Sampson was no sooner abbot than he began to set his house in order "not requiring counsel at another's hand, but looking to every thing himself." This led to discontent, and the complaint that he governed without the advice of his own free-men. He made inquisition throughout each manor as to the rents labourers and tenements, and had a general survey made throughout the hundreds, reducing all to writing so that within four years of his election no one could defraud him.

During the abbacy of his predecessor gross abuses prevailed throughout the convent, "every official had a seal of his own, and bound himself in debt to the

Jews as well as to the Christians." Sampson on becoming Abbot declared that from henceforth no mortgage should be valid unless sealed with the convent seal in full chapter, and he deposed William the Sacrist who had been the greatest sinner in the matter of loans. This led to a conspiracy among the monks against the abbot, whereupon Sampson going to the chapter-house pulls out a bag full of deeds and securities which had been mortgaged by the late abbot his predecessor, the prior, and the sacrist, all sealed with their seals, to the value of three thousand and fifty pounds. "Behold" he says, "the good management of William our sacrist. Look here at the multitude of securities signed with his seal, whereby he hath pledged silken caps, dalmatics, censers of silver, and books ornamented with gold, without the knowledge of the convent; all which I have redeemed and restore to you."

It is no part of the object of this paper to dwell upon the political history of the Abbey apart from the architectural history of the buildings, but I cannot forbear to remind you that near to where we are now assembled stood the high altar, before which, in the Christmas of the year 1214 during the interregnum between the death of Sampson and the confirmation of his successor Hugh de Northwold, afterwards Bishop of Ely, the great barons of the realm, under the guidance of Cardinal Langtoft Archbishop of Canterbury, assembled and swore to obtain from King John the observance of the charter of Henry I., and the laws of the Sainly Confessor.

In commemoration of this never-to-be-forgotten meeting, a tablet has been placed upon the north

east pier of the great tower, with an inscription from the pen of the late distinguished Fellow of Trinity and Head Master of our Royal Grammar School, Dr. Donaldson.

For two centuries after the time of Abbot Sampson there are no records of further works on the Abbey Church, except that Abbot Symon de Luton, who obtained the abbacy in 1257, built "the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the site of the Chapel in which first Edmund rested."

The exact position of these two chapels is fixed by William of Worcester who mentions besides the eastern chapel of St. Mary, "the Chapel of the Blessed Mary on the north side of the choir where Thomas Beaufort lies buried." This lady chapel measured about seventy feet by thirty-seven feet, and within this space the body of Thomas Beaufort was found in 1772, which was then removed and re-interred against the north east pier of the choir tower.

In the year 1430, William Curteys being abbot, a great misfortune befell the church. On December 18th, about the first hour past noon, the south side of the great Campanile or tower adjoining the nave at the west end "in occidente fine ejusdem Monasterii," fell without warning. An hour-and-a-half earlier the greater part of the parishioners of St. Mary were collected at the west end of the nave to recite the office of the B. Virgin, their own church, i. e. the existing parochial church of St. Mary, being then rebuilding. The record adds that no one was injured "owing it is hoped to the prayers of St. Edmund."

Twelve months later on the morrow of the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Dec. 30th 1431, the east

part of the same tower fell to the ground, but in the mean time the upper part with the lead and bells had been taken off. In April of the year following, the north wall by very cautious undermining by two workmen only, was levelled with the ground without any damage whatever.

This great tower, which probably resembled the great west tower of Ely Cathedral, appears to have been commenced by Sampson when sub-sacrist. We have seen how he made a great draught of stone for the purpose, and the *Liber Albus* tells us that he finished one story of the great tower at the west door.

Under Sampson, Hugo was the sacrist in charge of the buildings. He completed the great tower, covering the roof with lead, the abbot himself providing timber and other materials. This was the great tower to whose destruction I have alluded. The ruin was so great that in 1433, when King Henry VI. visited the monastery, the abbot and monks were unable to admit him to the Abbey Church by the great western door.

Abbot Curteys lost no time in making a contract for the rebuilding of the tower with "John Wode masoun" of Colchester,\* and the work appears to have been in hand throughout the remainder of the century. Whether the tower was ever completed is I think doubtful; so late as the year 1500, legacies were left for the "building of the New Stepyll within the said Monastery." The cost of rebuilding the tower was estimated at sixty thousand ducats, and the pope was petitioned to grant special exemptions to those who contributed towards the work. (*Col. Bur.*)

\* Appendix, Note III.

THE SHRINE OF ST. EDMUND, the central star of the abbey and great pride of the community, stood in the apse at about its centre, a position corresponding with that of St. Edward at Westminster. The Shrine was placed in this position after the completion of the presbytery in the year 1095, where it remained until the time of the Reformation.

Lydgate the poet, a monk of St. Edmund's, has left several illuminations illustrative of the Shrine. They represent a stone base like an altar tomb, and upon it the Shrine, a chest with a gabled top, pinacles at the sides, and panels enriched with gold and jewels. The fate of the Shrine after the dissolution of the abbey in 1539 is thus curtly reported by the king's commissioners.\* "Pleaseth it your lordship to be advertised, that wee have been at Saynt Edmonds-Bury, where we found a riche Shryne which was very comberous to deface."

Westward of the Shrine but within the presbytery was the HIGH ALTAR. The choir extended beyond the central tower so as to include some of the eastern bays of the nave. There were stalls for eighty monks with the abbot's throne on the south side, and the prior's seat on the north.

In the year 1198 the monks were startled by finding that the Shrine had caught fire. "St. Edmund was pleased to strike terror into our convent, and to instruct us that his body should be kept more reverently and observantly than it had hitherto been." The keepers of the Shrine had fallen asleep, and two tapers which had been placed upon one another in a slovenly manner, fell upon the flooring which was covered with all sorts of inflammable rubbish.

\* Appendix, Note IV.

The vestiary observing the fire tolled the bell as if for a dead person, crying out lustily that the Shrine was on fire. The young monks running thither quickly extinguished the flames, and tho' much damage to the Shrine was done, yet the "golden holy of holies in front of the Shrine remained firm and untouched, and if any thing brighter than it was before for it was all of gold."

Now the monks greatly feared the effect that the report of the fire might have upon the offerings, "and after a consultation of all of us we called a goldsmith to our assistance, and caused metal plates to be fixed to the Shrine without the least delay, to avoid the scandal of the thing. But there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, and some pilgrims coming early in the morning peering about, inquired where was the fire that they had just heard about at the Shrine. And since it could not be entirely concealed it was answered to those prying folk, that a candle had fallen down and that some of the stone work of the Shrine had been destroyed. Yet for all this a lying rumour went forth that the head of the Saint had been burnt. Some said that the hair only was burnt; but afterwards the truth being known the mouth of them that spake lies was stopped."

The Abbot, Sampson, was greatly grieved at these reports, and holding a grand chapter he told his monks that all this had befallen them because of their sins, especially their grumbling with the meat and drink. He therefore suggested that they should lay aside their pittances\* for one year, and that the rents of the pittancery be applied to the repair of the Shrine.

\* Extra commons.

The abbot himself set them an example by giving all the gold he possessed, to wit, fifteen gold rings worth sixty marks, towards the reparation of the Shrine.

The substructure of the Shrine being destroyed, the abbot determined to replace it with more glorious work, and when this was ready, he announced to the convent that they should prepare themselves for re-fixing the Shrine. A three days' fast was ordered, and St. Edmund's day now near at hand was appointed for the ceremony.

"The monks coming that night to matins found the great Shrine ready but empty, and covered with white doe skin leather; near by was the loculus or coffin with the sacred body. Service ended, the Abbot and certain monks with him, vested in albs, approaching reverently, hastened to uncover the coffin. First there was an outer cloth of linen overwrapping the coffin. Next there was a silken cloth, and then another linen cloth, and then a third. When the coverings were removed there was seen affixed to the surface of the loculus, above the breast of the Martyr, a golden angel about the length of a man's foot, holding a golden sword in one hand, and a banner in the other, and over the angel was this verse—

*Martiris ecce zoma servat Michaelis agalma.*

[This is the martyr's garment which Michael's image guards.]

Then the loculus and the body was placed in the Shrine, and the Shrine closed for the present. Now we all thought that the Abbot would exhibit the coffin to the people, and the body of the Saint to us all; but we were sadly deceived. The Abbot on the fourth day of the feast, spoke privily to the Sacrist and Walter the medicus, saying, that it had been the object of his prayers to see his patron saint, and that he wished to join with him the Sacrist and Walter the Physician when he looked upon him. Then to assist him, he ordered twelve brethren, cunning in fixing and unfixing, to be ready at midnight. 'I alas,' adds Jocelyn, 'was not of the number.' The convent being all asleep, those twelve clothed in albs drawing the coffin from off the Shrine, unfastened the lid which was fixed to the coffin with sixteen very long iron nails. Then the twelve brethren were ordered to draw back.



Now the coffin was so filled with the sacred body that even a needle could hardly be put in between the head and the wood, or between the feet and the wood; and the head lay united to the body somewhat raised by a small pillow. The Abbot, looking close, found a silk cloth veiling the whole body, and then a linen cloth of wondrous whiteness; after that another fine silken cloth, as if it had been the veil of some nun. And now they found the Sacred body all wrapt in linen, and so at length the lineaments appeared. Here the Abbot stopped, saying he durst not proceed further, or look at the sacred flesh naked. Then taking the head between his hands, in a subdued tone, he said, 'Glorious Martyr St. Edmund, turn it not to my destruction that I a miserable sinner do touch thee; for thou knowest my devotion and the intention of my mind.' And proceeding he touched the eyes, and the nose, which was very massive and prominent, *valde grossum et valde eminentem*, and then he touched the breast and arms, and raising the left arm he touched the fingers, and placed his own fingers between the sacred fingers. And proceeding, he found the feet standing stiff up like the feet of a man dead yesterday, and he touched the toes and counted them.

And then the brethren aforesaid approached, and with them six others who had stolen in without the Abbot's consent. All these saw the Sacred body, but Thurstan alone touched the Saint's knees and feet. Also one of the brethren, John of Dice, sitting on the roof of the church with the servants of the vestry, looking through clearly saw all these things.

Then all was closed up in like manner as before, and when the convent came to chant matins, and perceived what had been done, they were very sorrowful, saying among themselves 'we have been sadly deceived.' Upon this the Abbot addressed them from the high altar shewing them that it was not fit that he should call all of them to be present on such an occasion. Then they all with tears sung 'Te Deum Laudamus,' and hastened to ring the bells in the choir." *Chron. of Jocelyn de Brakelond.*

And thus ends this midnight scene, than which none more remarkable. The lofty choir, the gorgeous shrine scarce lighted by the few dim-burning tapers. The white-robed abbot, with his two associ-

ates and the twelve bretheren in their albs, all gazing on the lifeless body of the Martyr, awe struck at their own audacity, fearful lest the Saint should resent their proceeding as an insult. Then the prying monk on the roof with the inquisitive servants watching the Lord Abbot and his attendants through the clerestory windows, and the chagrin of the monks when they arose for matins and discovered what had taken place while they slept, afford such a glimpse of the inner life of a monastery seven centuries ago, as has been rarely handed down to this nineteenth century era.

The sacred taper's lights are gone,  
Grey moss has clad the altar stone.  
The holy image is o'erthrown,  
The bell has ceased to toll.  
The long ribb'd aisles are burnt and shrunk,  
The holy shrines to ruin sunk,  
Departed is the pious monk,  
God's blessing on his soul.



## THE MONASTERY.

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**W**E will now in imagination leave the great church by the south transept door, and passing on our way the Chapel of St. Andrew, built by Abbot Anselm and restored by Abbot Sampson, proceed due south until we strike the south boundary wall of the cemetery, where the Shirehall now stands. From this point the great length of the Abbey Church may be best seen. The west front is marked by buildings, the lines of the nave and the east end are defined by trees.

Let me at this point draw your attention to the arrangement which has placed the conventual buildings on the *north* side of the great church; usually the domestic buildings of an abbey are on the south side of the church, so getting the full benefit of the mid-day sun and protection from northerly winds. This is so universal an arrangement that only some special reason can have led to a different plan being adopted at Bury. Perhaps the river and the natural

drainage taking a northerly course may account for it.

Near the spot where we are now supposed to be, stood the Chapel of St. Margaret. With the consent of Abbot Baldwin, a priest by name Albold built a not insignificant tower, and adjoining to it a chapel dedicated to St. Margaret. In the tower a virgin who had dedicated herself to God was immured and there buried. This chapel appears to have fallen into decay, for Abbot Anselm pulled it down, and after rebuilding it caused it to be consecrated by John, Bishop of Rochester. In the year 1512 one John Sygo gave the sum of forty shillings towards the reparation of the "chapell of Seynt Margarete" at Bury. Beyond this little is known about the chapel.

The Cemeterium Fratrum, or Cemeterium Magnum, containing the abbey church and seven subordinate chapels was about twelve acres in extent. It was enclosed by a lofty wall of which some portion may yet be traced in Dr. Image's house and garden, and another part abuts against the tower of St. Mary's Church.

West of the Chapel of St. Margaret was the south gate of the cemetery, built by Harvæus the sacrist, and near by were the houses which Jocelyn de Brake-lond says were purchased by Abbot Sampson for the use of the school.

Following the wall, we shall next arrive at the parish church of St. Mary at the south western angle of the cemetery. If from thence we turn due north still following the line of the wall for a distance of one hundred and twenty yards, we find ourselves at the bell tower of St. James Church, which was formerly also the great gate leading into the cemetery.

This tower was built by the great architect Harvæus the sacrist, who with such care and magnificence carried out the noble conceptions of Abbot Anselm. It stood directly opposite to the great west door of the Abbey Church, and through it passed from time to time kings and courtiers, nobles and statesmen; the rash Richard, the craven John; stately Plantagenets and Lancastrians, Edwards and Henries, all eager to make their vows at the Shrine of St. Edmund.

Through this gate also must have passed Richard de Lucy and Humphry de Bohun, when with the consecrated standard of St. Edmund in the van, they marched forth to meet on the plain of Fornham, the Flemings under the Earl of Leicester and the rebel forces of Hugh Bigot Earl of Norfolk.

Through this gate too must have filed that band of armed nobles who summoned by the astute Langton, Cardinal and Archbishop, swore before the high altar to obtain from King John by force of arms if necessary, confirmation of the liberties of the realm which were embodied in the charter of Henry I.

And yet once again for the last time, the great west doors rolled back to admit that royal funeral array, which but a few years before the destruction of this stately abbey, brought Mary favourite sister of the selfish Henry VIII., once Queen of France, then wife of the courtly Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, from her quiet and loved retreat at Westthorp to be buried with all the pomp of royalty beneath the shadow of the Saint.

With such scenes as these in our thoughts, let us too enter as it were the great west door of the abbey church, and after dwelling for a few moments in our

mind's eye on the once long lines of massive piers, triforium, clerestory and painted roof, let us leave the hallowed spot by the door of the northern aisle and so pass into the cloister court now a well kept garden, in which we can still trace the refectory, and the outline of the great cloister.

On the eastern side, the cloister which measured 157 feet square, met the transept of the church and the west end of the chapter-house, and on the western side, the cellarer's wing with the servants' dormitory over. The church was its boundary on the north, and the refectory on the south. The refectory, or dining hall of the monks, measured 171 feet long by 40 feet wide. In the north wall are remains of what may have been the pulpit.

At right angles to the refectory and stretching northward, was the monks' parlour with their dormitory over. On the north side of the refectory was a long line of buildings, the foundations of which with a doorway are still to be seen. Westward of this range of buildings was the cellarer's house, and still further west where a fine piece of wall still exists was the mint, the guest hall, and the almonry. But the positions of these buildings cannot be clearly defined.

Eastward of the refectory and monks' parlour, was the infirmary arranged round a cloister court. Adjoining was a great hall originally called *Spæne*, afterwards *Bradfield Hall*, and *Bradfield Spæne*, built for the recreation of the monks about 1260. After the annual blood letting it was the custom of the monks to dine in this Hall.

Attached to Bradfield Spæne was the hall of the

baths, built by Abbot Sampson and filled up about 140 years since. The piers of arches still existing were probably parts of the infirmary buildings.

Stretching eastward from the monks' parlour, and forming the eastern boundary of the great court of the monastery, was a range of buildings including the abbot's palace and offices. It would appear from an old plan of Bury, printed in 1747, that considerable portions of this range then existed ; but at the present time the substructure of the dining hall only exists, and as this is made a play-ground for the children who frequent the garden, it is fast crumbling away. This hall was probably about 95 feet by 40 feet, and the character of the work points to the 12th century. Eastward stood the prior's house ; in 1433 King Henry VI. made it his residence for some time "on account of its pleasant situation close to the water and the odour of the vineyard." Near by also was the house of the sacrist. In 1849 the foundations of these buildings were laid bare shewing work of the 12th and 15th centuries.

About the year 1140 it would appear that the whole of the monastic offices were burnt down. The rebuilding and re-arrangement was carried out by Sacrist Helyas, the successor and no doubt pupil of the great architect, Harvæus. The whole appears to have been completed and put into thorough repair in Abbot Sampson's time by Walter de Bonham, Sacrist.

We have seen how the great cemetery was enclosed on its south and west side by a wall. This wall was continued so as to form the west and north boundary of the great court of the monastery. On the north



side of the abbey gate the wall still exists in very fair condition ; but the most perfect section is that stretching from the north postern gate of the monastery to the river, at the point where stood the east gate of the town.

From this point the wall turns due south, and is carried across the river by an unique and most interesting bridge apparently built in the earlier half of the 13th century. It is a *double* bridge of three openings, the inner arches carrying a roadway across the river, the outer and more pointed arches carrying the wall. Upon the outer face of the wall three bold buttresses rest upon the piers of the arches, these buttresses being pierced with pointed arched openings, probably to allow a foot-bridge of timber to be laid from pier to pier.

The wall then follows the river until it meets the vineyard wall which encloses some six acres of ground still roughly marked out in terraces. The vineyard was bought by the Sacrist Robert de Gravel, "*ad solatium infirmorum et amicorum.*" Robert de Gravel died Abbot of Thorney in 1236 and was buried in the Lady Chapel of that Abbey which he had built.

The latter part of the 13th century saw great social changes spreading over the land of England. The greater barons were diminishing in numbers and their tenants were becoming owners of land and independent. Almost greater changes were taking place in the towns ; the burgesses were growing in wealth, and taking advantage of the necessities of their liege lords whether barons or abbots, were fast securing freedom of trade and the right of self government.

Social changes such as these could not take place

without much friction and disturbance. Perhaps nowhere did these disputes go to so great a length, and lead to such disastrous results, as at St. Edmund's Bury.

In the year 1192 the convent complained to the abbot that while the rents and profits of other towns had increased, the rents of their town had never gone beyond forty pounds. They accused the burgesses of occupying standings in the market-place, shops and sheds, without first obtaining the consent of the convent, and without paying more than the customary forty pounds per annum. The burgesses when called upon to answer this, pleaded that they were under the jurisdiction of the king's court in respect of the tenements they and their fathers had holden. The monks upon this prayed the abbot that he would disseise or evict the tenants.

Sampson the Abbot when thus appealed to, "coming to our council as if he were one of us, said to us in private, that he was willing enough to do us right, but that he nevertheless was bound to proceed in due course of law, nor could he without the judgement of court disseise his free-men of their lands and rents, which they had holden for many years, whether justly or unjustly."

The burgesses now offered to the convent a rent of one hundred shillings, that they should hold their tenements as they had been wont to do. This offer the convent declined, trusting that under another abbot they might recover all, and so the matter was deferred many years.

After a while, on the abbot's return from a visit to King Richard then a prisoner in Germany, the bur-

gesses made offer of sixty marks on condition that he confirmed the liberties of the town. To this the abbot graciously assented, and notwithstanding the murmurings and grumblings of the monks a charter was granted.

The burgesses, strong in the possession of their charter, henceforth omitted to pay the promised rent of one hundred shillings, but when the abbot reminding them of this, threatened to forbid their booths at the fair of St. Edmund, they offered to give yearly instead a silken hood, provided they were to be quit of their personal tithes, i. e. tithes on profits. The abbot and the sacrist on the part of the convent declined this, so again matters came to a standstill. Then Jocelyn adds, "In point of fact we have from that time to the present lost those hundred shillings according to the old saying, 'He that will not when he may, when he will shall have nay.'"

In 1264, in the Abbacy of Symon de Luton, some of the younger burgesses raised questions about the custody of the town gates, and carried the dispute so far that they assaulted the servants of the monks following them even into the church.

In 1292 this dispute about the gates again broke out, and the burgesses at the same time set up a claim to appoint their own alderman. An appeal was made to the king, the result of which was, that the burgesses were henceforth to appoint the keepers of the four town gates, the fifth or Eastgate to remain in the custody of the abbot.

In 1305 we hear of further troubles, the townspeople being charged with illtreating the bailiff and servants of the monastery. But the great outbreak

took place in 1327 in the Abbacy of Thomas de Draughton. In September 1326, Queen Isabella landed in the Orwell and came to St. Edmund's Bury. On January 20th, 1327 her son Edward III. was proclaimed King. Eight days before this, the burgesses of Bury began the riot which before the end of the year ended in the destruction of the conventual buildings of the monastery.

Collecting an immense force,\* said to have been upwards of 20,000 men and women and to have included secular clergy, the townspeople took possession of the monastery and held it for ten months. It was not however until October that the great destruction of the buildings, including the gate leading into the monastery, took place. By this time Edward III. was seated upon the throne, and rule and order throughout the country restored. The King's sheriff appeared upon the scene, and summarily hanging nineteen of the rioters upon the 14th of December, speedily put an end to the disturbance.

Then came lawsuits for the recovery of damages, running over four or five years until finally the convent obtained a verdict against the townspeople for £140,000, a sum so ruinous that the king induced the convent to remit it.

But out of these flames sprung the existing great gate of the abbey, than which nothing can be more beautiful, combining the delicate details of an ecclesiastical building with the strength and military arrangements of a castle gate. Specially may be admired the internal walls of both porch and gate-hall, which are panelled and ornamented with tracery

\* "infinitum numerum hominum."

resembling windows. Below the springing of the tracery were twelve shields of arms, but five only now remain. From the arms upon these shields the date of the building can be pretty accurately determined.

The first shield has the arms of King Edward III. before he quartered the lilies of France, i. e. before 1540.

The third shield, England within a bordure of Fleurs de lis, is for the king's brother, John of Eltham. These arms were probably assigned to him when created Earl of Cornwall in 1328. John of Eltham died 1336.

The fourth shield, England with a label of three points, gives the arms of Thomas of Brotherton, the king's uncle.\*

The fifth shield, a cross fleurie between five martlets, are the arms assigned to Edward the Confessor.

The sixth shield, bearing England with a label of five points each charged with three Fleurs de lis, is that of Henry of Lankester. The brother and predecessor of the earl was attainted and executed in 1321, and Henry was not restored to all the honours of his father and brother until the coronation of Edward III. in 1327.

These shields may therefore be referred to a period between the years 1327 and 1337, and as it is not probable that the carving was executed before the gateway was nearly, if not quite completed, we may fairly date the building at or about the year 1335.

In conclusion listen to a description of the antiquary, John Leland, who saw the abbey shortly before

\* Appendix, Note V.

its final destruction. "The sun" saith he, "hath not seen either a city more finely seated, so delicately standeth it upon the easy ascent or hanging of an hill, and a little river runneth down on the east side thereof, or a goodlier abbey; whether a man indifferently consider either the endowment with revenues, or the largeness, or the incomparable magnificence thereof. A man who saw the abbey would say verily it were a city, so many gates there are in it and some of brass, so many towers and a most stately church, upon which attend three others also standing gloriously in one and the same churchyard, all of passing fine and curious workmanship.

If you demand how great the wealth of this abbey was, a man could hardly tell, and namely how many gifts and oblations were hung upon the tomb alone of St. Edmund; and besides there came in out of lands and revenues a thousand, five hundred and three score pounds of old rents by the year."\*

\* The revenues were valued in the 26th of Henry VIII. according to a M.S. in the Bishop of Norwich's registry at £1669.



## APPENDIX.

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P. 5, Note i.—Extract from Domesday Book relating to the villa or lordship of St. Edmund. "In the villa where rests interred St. Edmund the King and glorious martyr, Baldwin the Abbot held in King Edward's time for the use of the refectory of the monastery one hundred and eighteen vassals\* and power to give and sell their land; and under them fifty-two bordars† from whom the Abbot can have some aid. Fifty-four freemen‡ very poor, forty-three elemosinaries|| each of them have one bordar. Now two mills and two vivaries or fish pools. This villa was then worth ten pounds now twenty. It has in length one mile§ and a half and the same in breadth and as in (*quando*) the Hundred one pound is paid as tax. There were payable out of it sixty pence for the use of the refectory of the monastery but this was from the villa, as it

\* *Homines*, feudatory tenants.

† *Bordarii*, cottagers.

‡ *Liberi*, a term of great latitude includes all persons holding in military tenure.

|| *Almsfolk*. The extract as quoted in the *Monasticon* runs thus—"XLIII. elemosin. quisque eorum habet I. bord." This entry is puzzling. How each of a number of Almsfolk could have a bordarius attached to him is not apparent.

§ *Leuca*, the mile, was nearly a mile and a half of the present standard.



was in King Edward's time and as long as it remained so (*sic ita est*). But now it contains a greater compass of land which was then ploughed and sowed. Where there are thirty priests, deacons and clerks, twenty-eight nuns and poor folk who daily pray for the King and all Christian people; eighty save five bakers, brewers, tailors, washers, shoemakers, parchment makers, cooks, porters, stewards. And all these daily serve the Saint and the Abbot and the brethren. Besides whom there are thirteen bailiffs over the land who have their houses in the same villa and under them five bordars. Now thirty-four Knights Foreigners and English\* and under them twenty-two bordars. Now in the whole three Hundred and forty-two houses in the demesne of the land of Saint Edmund which was plough land in the time of King Edward."

*P. 12, Note ii.*—There were three ancient churches but their history is obscure—

1. The church built of split oak in the time of Sigisbert dedicated to St. Mary.
2. The church of Ailwin, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Edmund, which stood on the north side of the presbytery where Abbot Symon afterwards built the Lady Chapel. This church may have been a rebuilding in stone of the earlier timber-built church, and not pulled down until the time of Abbot Symon.
3. The parish church of St. Mary which was taken down by Godfrey the Sacrist to make way for the extension of the right arm or transept of the great church, and rebuilt in the cemetery. By whom

\* "Francos et Anglicos."

this church was built or when it was dedicated is not clear.

*P. 22, Note iii.*—The following are some of the conditions of the contract made between John Wode and the Convent—

“John Wode schal werke on the stepil in all man thynges that longe to fremasounrye fro. the feste of Seynt Michael yn to the terme of vij yeer, taking yeerly of the seyd Abbot for hys stypend and his suaunts x. *li.* yn mony. And the seyd John Wode schal haue hys bord in the Couentys halle for hym and hys man, for hym self as a gentilman and hys suaunt as for a yoman ; And ther to too robys, on for hym self of gentilmannys liuere and for his suaunt anothir of yomanys lyvere. Suche time as he ys not occupyed in hys werk he shall be tendyng up on the P'our.”

If he was absent from his work more than two days in a quarter he was to forfeit pay at the rate of five pence per day for himself and three pence per day for his servant. If they were ill and unable to work they were not to receive pay, but would be allowed “ther mete if they will come to halle.”—*Reg. Curteys. Archaeologia, Vol. XXIII.*

*P. 23, Note iv.*—It is remarkable that the Commissioners make no mention of the body of St. Edmund. They found his shirt, his sword and “a sinew with the parings of the flesh of divers holy Virgins laid up in boxes.” Mention is made of a coffin containing the bones of St. Botolph, but not a word about the bones of St. Edmund. This seems to give colour to the statement of Caseneuve the French author of the

life of St. Edmund. According to this writer, Lewis the dauphin of France when in England in 1216, by the invitation of the barons who were in arms against King John, took the opportunity of a visit to St. Edmund's Bury to loot the royal shrine carrying off the body to France. The honour of being the resting place of the Martyr's relics is now claimed by Toulouse.

*P. 38, Note v.*—Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk and Earl Marshal, was buried under a goodly monument in the choir of the Abbey Church.

Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset and Duke of Exeter, who was also buried in the Abbey Church, (see page 21), was the third son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swyneford. He held high commands in the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V. and Henry VI. especially at the battle of Agincourt where he led the rearguard. Thomas Beaufort died in 1426 and leaving no children his landed possessions passed to his nephew John, Duke of Somerset, ancestor of the present Duke. By his will among other bequests he directed that a thousand masses be said for his soul, that his funeral be simple, and five tapers only placed round the coffin. He further directed that upon the anniversary of his death, six shillings and eight pence be paid to the Abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, and three shillings and four pence to the Prior provided they were present; to every monk present he gave twenty pence. The Duke's body was found in 1772 and re-interred at the foot of the great pier.







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